1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

en-gerai 'l-ala coñgwan, lekeper aare o li-abore aare.

Nāji kullo-papit ol-masai.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower. 302

The hair of the head is called the mane.

'Ng-amulak.

Enotari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Maasae; en-e-'menata oo 'n-oo-'n-dōkitin naadoli neiñgasyai. Nenotari sii 'ng-amulak too-'l-oibonok, ten eiyōuni neishiu 'l-tuñganak.

Ten emen ol-Maasani likae-tuñgani, neisikaki 'ng-amulak eng-omom, nājo: 'Ira ol-dia.'

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting; one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people[1]. 201

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Ore pe edol il-Maasae 'l-Ashumba opa, neisikaa, nājo: 'Ēāgu 'l-Orida[2] anaa 'l-lakunguni.' Nemeiyōu nenyikaki āisēye.

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it. [177]

Ten edol ol-Maasani en-gerai kiti neitu se-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nājo: 'Tubulu, tamoo 'ng-onyek o-'l-orera.'

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.' 514 789 [856]

Naa, ten edol en-gerai neitu se-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nājo: 'Torono enna-kerai'; kake ājo to-'l-tau lenye: 'Sidai enna-kerai'; anu āji, ten ājōki ol-tuñgani en-gerai: 'Sidai enna-kerai,' nemweiyu.

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill. [753]

[1] Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-men to spit on their patients (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 126). [171]

[2] The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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514 576 201 Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuñganak tasati naleñg, nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-tasati, nējōki: 'Mikitajapa eng-AI.'

Naa, ten eñgasaki 'l-muran il-tuñganak kituak, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

821 514 789 Naa, ten edol ol-Maasani en-dōki neitu ae-oloñg edol, anaa ol-akira ōdōyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'I'usho! imbira 'l-mañgati!' nējo aii: 'Telekwaki.'

514 789 [551] [043] Ore aii ten erikino, neipot il-meneñga araki eng-arna o-'l-tuñgani ōtua, nenotaa 'ng-amulak. Ore aii ten eniñg il-omon torok injere etua ol-tuñgani ōje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nejo: 'I'usho, eng-AI, mikiatá 'n-giyaa.'

514 179 Ore p' eiter aapwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, pe edol il-Maasae, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, amu etējo: 'Eitu kidól il-tuñganak anaa kullo.' Nēji aii: ''L-oibonok kituak kullo-tuñganak.' Ore pe epik ol-Aisungui ol-tuñgani ol-chani, nējōki ol-tuñgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak p' aishiu.' Nēji eng-arna 'l-Ōjuju amu eata 'l-papit kumok.

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine!'

Then, when warriors greet old men[2], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojuju owing to their being hairy.

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

[191] [113] [2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi).

[3] *Vide* p. 284.

789 another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use
791 of medicines obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the charm might get old and lose its efficiency; or perhaps the object of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if its fate is concealed from him.

561 After some years the boys are circumcised, and become moran warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the *ingopior* plan
[361] to form into separate companies in readiness for residence in warrior villages called *imanyak*. Messages are sent and the warriors of all clans are called together by means of an *ol-amal* just as the boys did before the *endungore* ceremony. The number of companies, called *i'sirit*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the *ingopiri* warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed leaves the assembly, goes a little way and striking the haft of his
● [201] spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: "*En alo Il Mirisho*" or "*En alo Il Tetiauri*"—"This way the Merisho, this way the Tetiuri." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the warriors of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more *sirits*. Having joined a *sirit* a
[578 warrior may retract at any time before that *sirit* forms the first warrior
627] village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves his *sirit* to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

The *sirits* once formed, the warriors now approach the *il-piron* elders with a view to holding the ceremony of drilling—without which the first warrior village or manyata of new age-group may not be erected.

The *enthurgori* ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally bind-
[791] ing. It sometimes happens that the medicine man decides that a left-hand circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the *Il piron* planned to make their special care, will be lost to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-hand circumcision moran.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *muratogedienye* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jangienobur* group.

Manyattas.—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*, such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

Sex Life.—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the *umbani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasiukiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *sirit* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto*. 561 361 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas* were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 177 361

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tasiukiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasioki iyook*. *Tasioki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (*see* Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means "we" or "us." 836 [193] [114]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [201] [832]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 884

/108/

576 521 [203] A brief conversation in which news is exchanged is added to the greeting as a rule. This explains how even in the barren steppes any news spreads with great speed. If strangers meet, the older man first questions the younger one, or the man the woman, about name, origin, etc. The first question always runs: "Where do you come from?" To this is added the following: era enia 'ń gischomi = to what tribe, era enia ol gelata kitok = to what principal lineage, era enia ol gelat' ate = to what sublineage do you belong? It is further asked: eń ai menje = who is your father, eń ai notonji = who is your mother, and kędja eń garnaino = what is your name? The one asked readily gives an answer, but generally does not question the other one; on the contrary he goes on without knowing with whom he spoke. Good breeding demands this.

576 574 If a stranger comes to a kraal whose owner he does not know, as a rule he asks one of the children playing in front. The reply then runs: My father (baba), and to the question who that might be, the little one looks at him astonished and asks: "Do you not know my father then?" To the further question as to where he might be, the child points to a hut in which it surmises the father to be. Only small children may [201] point with the finger in the direction of a married man; older ones and adults indicate the direction by turning the heads toward it and at the same time slightly pushing out the lower jaw or the lips or even their tongues. If the stranger has sought out the hut of the old man, he squats in front of it and waits until its owner comes out of his own accord or is called out by one of his people. Now he first questions the guest in the same way as at an encounter and then calls one of his wives or one of his children to bring milk. The gourd bottle is first handed to the host so that he can make sure it is generously filled. He then hands it on to the guest. When the latter has emptied it he is asked whether he would like still more; to answer in the negative would be an offense against good breeding. Hospitality is discussed in another place; it is only to be mentioned that the guest need not express any request. Though it is expected of him that he will feel quite at home, one nevertheless still specially offers him everything available.

/108 cont./

576 When an acquaintance wants to enter the hut, he calls -- corresponding to our knock -- "eh opĕn eñg adji" = female owner of the hut, whereupon from inside, like "Come in!" comes the answer, "ja na ijŏk" = "we are here." Thanks for a favor shown or a gift is hardly ever customary, only very rarely does one hear the [201] word ăschĕ = thanks. A request is refused in that one "warns off" with the hand, the palm of which is turned toward the one making the request.

The farewell runs "aija amalo" if one person is going away, "aija amerda/109/kipo" if several take their leave, and means "I am going" or "we are going." It is used similarly by all people and only by uncircumcised children is not accompanied by the handshake. A friend taking his leave is requested to remain longer with "milo" = 521 "do not go." In conversation with their kind the Masai are very talkative. The warriors among themselves relate old and new war adventures, which are presented with lively gestures and in exaggerated embellishment. Usually a fellow tribesman or lineage member plays the leading role in it; the enemy is always cowardly or lets himself be outwitted. Together with the young girls, the conversation soon becomes unrestrained and launches into racy witticisms and bold jokes. In the kraal of the married, men and women sit in separate groups. The former speak quietly and often in subdued voices about memories of their youth, stock raising, etc.; the latter, on the other hand, laughing and with extraordinary glibness of tongue, converse about gossipy tales in which some slur is cast on Mr. or Mrs. So-and-So. But let it be said to the credit of the Masai that their gossip is childish and harmless. One does not find malicious scandalmongers of either sex among the Masai and probably not among the other so-called primitive peoples. They rather seem to be an attendant [157] phenomenon of a higher level of culture. In accordance with the lively, impulsive nature and especially also the abnormal irascibility of the younger men, one very often hears coarse and bantering invectives. Their coarseness probably sufficiently explains the peculiar [576] ethics of the Masai. Crude invectives may not be used by women toward men.

/110 cont./

578 192 man. From young girls among themselves one hears: eñ orobó menje = accumbens patri /one who lies with her father/, eñ orobó 'l alahe = accumbens fratri /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by warriors toward young girls: hai em balísch = you, vulva; hai, e mówo = you, clitoris.

Younger children insult one another:

ñotonji eñ gomos = vagina matris;

ol agambai Eñg ai = hated by 'Ng ai;

tababuá = stumble;

ol agaischiri Eñg ai = cry to God (when you get a beating);

e mai = stupid fellow;

hai ol madai (or e madai) = you stupid fellow (stupid girl);

id' ol airirua, you are a blockhead;

id ol bua, you are a rowdy;

id' ol dillo endoi, that is, you are indeed mad. The term ol [136] dillo, which here means madman, is formed from the like-named bird, the red-headed Anaplectes melanotis, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one en route hears it call- [777] ing on the steppe from the left side, it means good luck, but if it [825] calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

Ol agatar' em baie, that is, die by an arrow, ol agawa ol gollug = die of fever; ol bebedo = of the upele sickness; ol minjaloi = of smallpox; eñ gohogge = of stomach or intestinal sickness; ol agataremo el gigaret = may the thorns prick you; ol agatarigi ol mairon = may your belly burst from eating; ol agairokischo = become black; ol agoibarra = rogue, brawler; e at' ol marenge = slanderer, gossiper; ol duñgani serseri = bad fellow; ol duñgani guret = coward.

• 201 To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

192 593 The large number of invectives stands in contrast to a striking poverty in terms of endearment.

/111/ The mother designates her child as 'l aischa 'Ng ai = child given me by God, as eñ gutok e jẽjo = mouth of the mother, or as ol oib e jẽjo = resting place of the mother. The father calls it ara ñgotonji = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters talk fondly to younger ones with the term ara e jẽjo = child of mother.

/121 cont./

181 If we summarize the traits outlined above, there results, on the one hand, the fact that the character of the Masai in general reveals the same virtues and vices as that of other primitive peoples, but then also that the Masai are definitely to be counted among the better half of these peoples.

181 609 The following little story, which a man from the Kilimandscharo area of Moschi once told me, shows how the Negroes illustrate the character of the Masai. "It was many years ago when we still fortified the area well with ditches and thorn hedges and the few approaches were both made hidden and well guarded. One day a couple of our people went into the steppe to see whether an elephant had fallen into the trap pit made there. There in the bush they found an old, sick Masai near starvation. Full of compassion, they took him home with them, where he gradually recovered. The convalescent seemed filled with gratitude and swore eternal friendship toward his benefactors when he departed to seek out his kraal again. A few days after his departure the war cry of our people suddenly resounded one night throughout the area. The Masai had come to make war on us, led by that old man who during his stay here had become familiar with the roads and bypaths and who owed his life to us."

• 201 152 Astonishment, depending on its degree, is expressed by a more or less wide opening of the eyes and the mouth, as well as by a simultaneous raising of the eyebrows.

[147] A feeling of shame is manifested by a darkening of the skin of the face and often also the throat, corresponding to the "blushing" of the white race. In order to express indignation one looks at the other with wide-open, staring eyes often cast slantwise. One observes the same in the case of obstinate children.

In reflection the forehead is wrinkled longitudinally and often also transversely in its middle section.

To express ill-humor, depression, anger because of loss, etc., one scratches the head bent to one side -- usually to the left -- with the right hand and thereby wrinkles the forehead transversely above the root of the nose.

/121 cont./

• 201 152 In contentment the eyes sparkle, and there is a happy expression on the face.

201 152 507 181 The stubborn one often presses his lips together tightly. In lying, especially in stiff-necked lying, the one concerned usually exhibits a well-played /122/ candor and the absence of any trace of consciousness of guilt, which often increases to the point of indignation, as though over an unjust suspicion. The Masai shows here a great talent for acting, which he probably has in common with most of the dark-skinned African races. Even when he sees himself convicted and has gained the impression that the judge or master is convinced of his guilt, he does not stop lying, but often persists for a long time in the behavior just described. More rarely his look gradually becomes uncertain, the eyes blink, the skin darkens somewhat, the voice becomes husky and somewhat hoarse and his facial expression says approximately: "Now nothing more will help!"

[147]

201 152 As a sign of contempt one spits before the one held in contempt. More rarely among men, but commonly among women, the same feeling is expressed by pushing out the lips and lower jaw and simultaneously extending the head forward.

The feeling of disgust is manifested by spitting.

[147] An extreme degree of fear is shown by a blanching of the skin, especially of the face, trembling of the hands, trembling in the voice, blinking of the eyes, which move unsteadily toward the sides, whereby the head either stays still or is turned in the direction of the eyeballs.

[522] Laughter often increases to a pitch that brings tears to the eyes.

In order to indicate that one is not in a position to do or to prevent something, or to protect oneself or a friend from a loss, to convince someone of the truth of one's words, one shrugs one's shoulders, turns the elbows inward, spreads the hands out, and opens the palms while raising the eyebrows.

Petulant children make a face as though they intended to start to cry.

/122 cont./

201 152 An expression of guilt, cunning, or jealousy can be recognized. If these feelings are very intense, the one conscious of guilt often holds one hand bent into a loose fist, in front of his mouth in such a way that the lower joint of the index finger lies crosswise below the root of the nose, whereas the jealous one appears surly and silent before he turns to violence. One who through cunning wishes to lure into a trap, to deceive, or to lie to another looks at him as little as possible; only now and then he gives him a more or less shy glance. The European will observe this especially often.

201 A low whistle is regarded as a sign to observe absolute silence; a blinking with the eyes admonishes the initiate to keep a secret. Warriors, for example, use the former during a night attack, brigands when a victim is approaching, thieves, etc., when there is danger in delay. One can often observe the latter in the case of one accused, when he is confronted with witnesses, and one also sees it not infrequently on other occasions when one /123/ questions a Masai and another one standing nearby wants the former to give false or no information.

Affirmation is expressed by a single, brief tossing back of the head and a simultaneous lowering of the eyelids. As a sign of negation the head is shaken laterally.

It has already been mentioned that one does not point at a person with the finger, but rather indicates the direction concerned with thrust-out tongue or lips or lower jaw. The index finger is [789] precisely the finger under the nail of which one may apply the magic medicine. This thought is also the basis of the threat with the index finger -- which is done as among us. -- The threat is therefore merely an ostentative display or holding of the finger, which can bring danger to the one threatened. One points to animals and inanimate objects, with the right arm extended, with the hand, while index finger and the middle finger are outstretched, whereby the tip of the latter rests on the nail of the former.

/123 cont./

201 152 A threatening with blows, just like the energy of a blow is indicated with a smacking sound that the index finger snapping down on closed thumb and middle finger of the right hand produces, a movement that is executed from the wrist and to a lesser extent also from the elbow and is sometimes observed among us as an involuntary reaction after taking hold of an unpleasantly hot object, or also among snuffers after taking a pinch. Besides this gesture one also finds another, the snapping of the middle finger from the tip of the thumb on the ball of it, common among us. Often this expresses a higher degree of threat, a threatening with weapons. On the other hand, however, one also finds it as an expression of embarrassment, whereby at the same time the shoulders are drawn up.

If the Masai wishes to emphasize emphatically that something is altogether at an end or gone, that nothing is left of it any more, he runs his thumbnail directly behind the edge of his upper incisors and pushes it quickly forward with a snapping sound.

201 861 I observed repeatedly how mothers reprimanded their naughty children, in that they accompany their eno el aigoschobo en abiak, that is, go, or things will go badly with you! with a motion of the hands, which consisted of her rapidly passing the palms of her hands, turned toward each other, half clapping, half grazing, and, to be sure, the right hand, chiefly active in this, would be snapped forward from behind.

151 /124/ The strength of vision of the Masai, like that of other primitive peoples, is very good. Often they already saw objects in the landscape at distances at which a normal-sighted European could not yet discern anything. The author was particularly struck by the fact that the people were able to recognize an object seen at great distances better than the European, even such whose eyes, through many years' residence in the country, were accustomed to the peculiar forms of vegetation and lighting effects in the steppe. When the latter was in doubt as to whether it was a matter of, for example, a man or a tree stump, or of a termite hill or a large antelope, the Masai's power of recognition always proceeds to be the better one.

[804] That they have at their disposal a tolerable judgment of distance is